

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 19149 310809Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 19149

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TAGS: APER, AFSP, US, UR

SUBJECT: TITLES OF CHIEFS OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL
SECTIONS

FOR DIRECTOR GENERAL AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN
FROM AMBASSADOR

1. SUMMARY: IN ORDER TO ENABLE THE EMBASSY TO TAKE FULL
ADVANTAGE OF NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR CONTACTS IN SENIOR
LEVLs OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND TO ESTABLISH A MORE
EFFICIENT MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE WITHIN THE EMBASSY, I URGE
THAT THE EMBASSY'S POLITICAL COUNSELOR BE DESIGNATED
MINISTER-COUNSELOR FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS AND THAT THE
ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL COUNSELOR BE DESIGNATED MINISTER-
COUNSELOR FOR ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS. END SUMMARY.

2. WITHIN THE RIGID AND TIGHTLY-ORGANIZED FABRIC OF
SOVIET SOCIETY, RANK DETERMINES ACCESS. AND WITHIN THE
HIGHLY PROTOCOL-CONSCIOUS MOSCOW BUREAUCRACY, ACCESS TO
DECISION MAKERS IS THE KEY TO SIGNIFICANT INFORMATION.
THE BREAKTHROUGH IN OUR RELATIONS WHICH HAS OCCUREED
OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS HAS OPENED TO US BROAD RANGES
OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP WHICH WERE HITHERTO
INACCESSIBLE. WE CAN NOW REACH HIGHER LEVELS OF THE ELITE
OF THIS SOCIETY AND ON A FAR BROADER BASIS. HOWEVER, I
NOW FIND THAT OUR OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEALING WITH SENIOR
GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE OUTSTRIPPING MY AND THE DCM'S
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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 19149 310809Z

CAPACITY TO EXPLOIT THEM. RAISING THE FORMAL RANK OF THE

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL COUNSELORS WILL GREATLY FACILITATE THEIR ABILITY TO SECURE ACCESS TO SENIOR OFFICIALS, AND THUS ENHANCE THE MISSION'S CAPACITY TO UTILIZE THE NEW OPPORTUNITIES WHICH DETENTE HAS PRODUCED.

3. AS REGARDS THE CHIEF OF THE POLITICAL SECTION, WOULD NOTE THAT THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTRY HAS 33 HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS WITH THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR. THEY HOLD POSITIONS IN THE SOVIET HIERARCHY APPROXIMATING ASSISTANT SECRETARIES OR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARIES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND AS A RULE THEY DEAL ONLY WITH DIPLOMATS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR RANK OR ABOVE. UNTIL RECENTLY THIS PRESENTED NO PROBLEM FOR US SINCE ONLY A HANDFUL WOULD RECEIVE US AND THE DCM AND I COULD HANDLE THEM. WE HAVE FOUND IN RECENT MONTHS, HOWEVER, THAT VIRTUALLY ALL ARE AVAILABLE TO US AND THAT REGULAR CONTACT WITH THEM IS INVALUABLE IN CLARIFYING SOVIET POLICY AND COMMUNICATING U.S. ATTITUDES WHILE SOVIET POLICY IS STILL IN THE FORMATIVE STAGE. THE ADVANTAGE OF BEING ABLE TO EMPLOY THE HEAD OF THE POLITICAL SECTION IN DEALING WITH MFA DIVISION CHIEFS IS SELF-EVIDENT.

4. FURTHERMORE, I WOULD NOTE THAT THERE ARE AT LEAST ELEVEN SEMI-ACADEMIC INSTITUTES DOING RESEARCH OF DIRECT FOREIGN POLICY RELEVANCE. THESE INSTITUTES ARE HEADED BY SOVIETS WITH THE RANK OF ACADEMICIAN--A RANK WHICH IS HELD BY ONLY 220 SOVIET CITIZENS. THE MINISTER-COUNSELOR TITLE WILL GREATLY FACILITATE THE ABILITY OF OUR CHIEF POLITICAL OFFICER TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH THEM. THE SAME CONSIDERATION, OF COURSE, APPLIES TO DEALING WITH MANY OTHER SOVIET MINISTRIES AND AGENCIES.

5. AS FOR THE ECONOMIC-COMMERCIAL COUNSELOR, THE NEED FOR HIGHER RANK IS EQUALLY PRESSING. OUR CHIEF ECONOMIC-COMMERCIAL OFFICER MUST DEAL REGULARLY NOT ONLY WITH THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN TRADE, BUT WITH SOME SCORE OF INDUSTRIAL MINISTRIES AS WELL AS SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE STATE AND FOREIGN TRADE BANKS AND SEVERAL POWERFUL STATE COMMITTEES. IN MANY INSTANCES, USEFUL INFORMATION IS NOT CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 MOSCOW 19149 310809Z

AVAILABLE FROM PERSONS BELOW THE RANK OF DEPUTY MINISTER, OR AT LEAST THAT OF DEPARTMENT CHIEF. WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO DEVELOP AND EXPLOIT AS MANY OF THESE HIGH-LEVEL CONTACTS AS WE SHOULD IF WE FAIL TO GIVE OUR CHIEF ECONOMIC OFFICER THE RANK WHICH PROVIDES THE BASIS FOR REGULAR ACCESS.

6. WHILE MY MOST IMPORTANT REASON FOR REQUESTING AN UPGRADING OF THE TITLES OF THE CHIEF POLITICAL AND

ECONOMIC OFFICERS IS TO FACILITATE THE EMBASSY'S ACCESS TO SOVIET OFFICIALDOM, THIS ACTION WOULD ALSO PERMIT US TO ESTABLISH A MORE RATIONAL AND EFFICIENT SYSTEM OF MANAGEMENT IN THE EMBASSY. ON SUBSTANTIVE GROUNDS--GIVEN THE FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL AND POLITICAL-MILITARY FACTORS IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION--THE CHIEF POLITICAL OFFICER SHOULD BE THE THIRD RANKING OFFICER IN THE EMBASSY. THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMIC, COMMERICAL, SCIENTIFIC AND AGRICULTURAL FACTORS IN THE RELATIONSHIP SIMILARLY DICTATES THAT THE OFFICER RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE AREAS SHOULD RANK FOURTH. GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE OF RANK IN THE EYES OF THE HOST GOVERNMENT, THERE SHOULD BE A SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT TO THE RANKING OF THE TOP FEW OFFICERS IN THE EMBASSY, AND THE RANK-ORDER BELOW THE DCM NOT BE LEFT TO CHANCE VAGARIES OF FOREIGN SERVICE GRADE, STEP, SALARY AND TIME OF ARRIVAL AT POST AS REQUIRED BY THE FAM FOR OFFICERS WITH THE SAME TITLE.

7. ACCORDING THE MINISTER-COUNSELOR TITLE TO THE CHIEF ECONOMIC OFFICER WOULD ALSO PERMIT ME TO RATIONALIZE EMBASSY MANAGEMENT. AT PRESENT NINE SEPARATE SECTIONS OF THE EMBASSY REPORT DIRECTLY TO THE DCM AND ME. GIVEN THE GREAT EXPANSION OF WORK WHICH HAS OCCURRED IN ALL SECTIONS, OUR ABILITY TO PROVIDE THE DEGREE OF SUPERVISION I DESIRE IS BECOMING STRAINED. WHEN THE CHIEF ECONOMIC OFFICER IS DESIGNATED MINISTER-COUNSELOR I INTEND TO ASSIGN TO HIM RESPONSIBILITY OF DIRECT SUPERVISION OF THE SCIENCE AND AGRICULTURE SECTIONS IN ADDITION TO THE ECONOMIC SECTION AND COMMERICAL OFFICE, WHICH SHOULD REDUCE THE DAY-TO-DAY BURDEN ON THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE AND PROVIDE BETTER COORDINATION OF IMPLEMENTING ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL POLICIES. IN DOING SO I WOULD OF COURSE PRESERVE READY

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 19149 310809Z

ACCESS TO ME AND THE DCM BY ALL SECTION CHIEFS--AND INDEED FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE EMBASSY--AS IS NOW THE PRACTICE.

8. IN MY VIEW, THE ADVANTAGES TO THE MISSION OF RAISING THE RANK OF OUR CHIEF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC OFFICERS ARE SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR AND SUBSTANTIAL TO JUSTIFY THE STEP REGARDLESS OF PRECEDENT OR PRACTICE ELSEWHERE. I WOULD NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT SUBSTANTIAL PRECEDENT DOES EXIST IN OTHER IMPORTANT U.S. MISSIONS ABROAD, IN SOVIET PRACTICE IN THE U.S., AND IN THIRD-COUNTRY REPRESENTATION IN THE USSR. IN WASHINGTON, FOR EXAMPLE, THE SOVIETS HAVE ACCREDITED A MINISTER-COUNSELOR IN ADDITION TO THE DCM AS WELL AS A TRADE REPRESENTATIVE WITH THE RANK OF MINISTER. (THESE ARE IN ADDITION TO SOME 17 OR 18 OFFICERS IN THE SOVIET EMBASSY

WITH THE RANK OF COUNSELOR.) EVEN IN OUR LESS RANK-CONSCIOUS
SOCIETY, THESE TITLES HAVE UNQUESTIONABLY FACILITATED
THE GREAT EXPANSION OF SOVIET CONTACTS IN THE U.S.
IN MOSCOW, AT LEAST FIVE EMBASSIES HAVE MINISTER-
COUNSELORS HEADING THE POLITICAL SECTION, WHILE SIX HAVE
OFFICERS OF THAT RANK SUPERVISING ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL
OPERATIONS.
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